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COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

A

HISTORICAL EXAMINATION

OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN

WESTERN AFRICA,

AS FORMED BY

PAGANISM AND MUHAMMEDANISM, SLAVERY, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND PIRACY,

AND OF THE

REMEDIAL INFLUENCE OF COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

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COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

PART I.

The question stated.—Proceedings of Missionary Boards and Colonial Governments.—Charges against the Government of American Colonies at an end.—Charges against the Moral Influence of the Colonists as Individuals, and Mode of meeting them.

"If the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast and unnumbered tribes yet obscured in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity, and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstitions to the holy charities, the sublime morality and humanizing discipline of the gospel, the nation or the individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benevolent enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race, unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence."

Such was the language addressed by the American Colonization Society to the Congress of the United States, in a memorial presented two weeks after the formation of the Society. To the hope which these words express, we are indebted for a large and valuable part of the countenance and aid which we have received. For some years past, however, this hope has been pronounced a delusion. Men who strenuously contend that the colored people of this country are fit for social equality and intercourse with our white population, assert, not very consistently, that when settled in Africa, they corrupt the morals of the idolatrous natives, and actually impede the progress of civilization and Christianity.

These assertions have had the greater influence, because they have been thought to be corroborated by the representations of American Missionaries, laboring for the conversion of the heathen in and around the colonial possessions. These missionaries, it is said, represent the colonies, or the colonists, or something connected with colonization, as serious obstacles to the success of their labors. In this way, some of our former friends have been led to disbelieve, and still greater numbers to doubt, the utility of our labors. The interests of the Society, therefore, and of the colony, and of Africa, and of Christianity, demand an investigation of the subject.

It would be easier to meet these charges, if we could ascertain exactly what they are. But this has hitherto proved impracticable. Common fame has reported, that the missionaries of the American, the Presbyterian, and the Protestant Episcopal Boards at Cape Palmas, united, some time in 1842, in a joint representation to their respective Boards, containing serious charges of the nature above mentioned.* It was reported, also, that this document was confidential; and that, for this reason, and especially as three Boards and their missionaries were interested in it, no one Board had a right to divulge its contents. As this was said to be the principal document on the subject, and to contain the substance of all the rest, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, at an early date, applied to the Secretaries of those three Boards for a copy, or at least for the perusal of it; but the request was not granted. We do not charge this refusal upon the Secretaries as a fault, or even as a mistake. We only mention it as the occasion of a serious inconvenience to us. It has also been reported, that about the same time, a certain pastor received a letter from one of those missionaries, which was confidential in this sense; that it might be circulated from hand to hand, and used in various ways to our prejudice, but must not be printed nor copied. This report of its character, of course, precluded any application for a copy.

Now, how can any man answer a report, that some or all of several very respectable persons three thousand miles off, have said something to his disadvantage? A man may be seriously injured by such a report; but in ordinary cases, he must bear the injury as best he may, and "live down" its influence if he can. In order to reply, he needs to know authentically who his accusers are, and what things they testify against them.

Let us see, however, whether industry and a good cause may not extricate us, even from a difficulty like this. We may learn something of the grounds of complaint, from the proceedings of the Boards of Missions; and we may learn from common fame, what common fame has led people to suspect. From all that we have heard, the complaints appear to be of two classes; those which relate to the action of the colonial governments, and those which relate to the influence of the colonists as individuals. We will consider them in their order.

Several years since, there was a controversy between the colonial government of Liberia and the superintendent of the Methodist Mission there, growing out of a dispute concerning duties on goods imported by the superintendent for the purpose of trade. But that whole matter was soon settled. Another superintendent was sent out; and since his death, the first has gone back, with express instructions to avoid

* Some have received the erroneous impression, that all the American missionaries *in Liberia* united in this representation. In fact, no missionary in any part of Liberia Proper,—that is, none in any place under the care of the American Colonization Society,—had any concern in it, or any knowledge of it. The nearest station occupied by any of its reputed signers, was ninety miles beyond the southernmost settlement of Liberia Proper. Some of them had spent a few days at Monrovia as visiters; but for their knowledge of any settlement except Cape Palmas, they were almost wholly dependent on hearsay. Their representations concerning the other settlements, if they made any, are therefore of little value, and no official action has been founded on them.

his former errors. It is not known that the government of Liberia has ever had any other collision with any missionary, or missionary society.

It appears from the Report of the American Board for 1842, that the missionaries complained, and, as the Board thought, with reason, of several laws of the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, where the mission was located. It was understood that substantially the same views were entertained by the missionaries of the Episcopal Church, stationed there, and by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, who were spending their season of acclimation at Cape Palmas, preparatory to commencing their labors at Settra Kroo; and also by the Presbyterian and Episcopalian Boards.

To this it is a sufficient reply, that we have nothing to do with Cape Palmas. The colony there is a distinct colony, with a government of its own. It was planted, and is sustained, by the Maryland Colonization Society, which is not a branch of the American, nor auxiliary to it, nor any way connected with it or under its influence. To bring a charge against our colony on account of the laws of Cape Palmas, is as unjust as it would be to blame the government of England for the laws of France. But this difficulty, too, has been settled. A few words will explain its origin and its termination.—It was from the beginning the policy of that colony, as of ours, not to exterminate or expel the natives, but to amalgamate them and the colonists into one people. The missions at Cape Palmas, however, were commenced as missions to the heathen natives, and not to the colonists. They therefore had a tendency to raise up a native interest, distinct from that of the colonists; to keep the two classes separate, and make them rivals to each other, instead of uniting them as one people. In this respect, the policy of the missions was in direct conflict with that of the colony; and this was the true source of the conflict of opinion and feeling. The case may be better understood, by viewing it in contrast with the Methodist mission in Liberia. That mission is not sent to the heathen exclusively, but to all the inhabitants of the territory on which they labor. Of course, all who come under its influence, colonists or natives, are drawn to the same religious meetings; all are gathered into the same churches; or if children, brought into the same schools. The whole influence of the mission goes to make natives and colonists one people, and thus coincides with the policy of the colony. The contrary policy at Cape Palmas naturally led to alienation of feeling, and to acts of both the government and the missionaries, which were mutually unpleasant, and some of which appear to have been unjustifiable. The mission of the American Board was removed, for this and other reasons, to the Gaboon river. The Presbyterian missionaries soon proceeded to the place of their destination, at Settra Kroo. That of the Episcopal Board was continued and strengthened, and has made peace by avoiding the original cause of dissension. The Report of that Board for the year 1844, says:—"The relations between the colonists and the missionaries at Cape Palmas during the past year appear to have been of a friendly character; and as the desire of the latter to promote, so far as in them lies, the moral and religious interests of the colonists becomes more and more apparent, it is believed that no ob-

stacles to the beneficial influence of the mission will be interposed." This is a very explicit statement, not only of the fact, that in the judgment of the Episcopal Board, no such "obstacles" *now* exist, or are expected to exist hereafter, but of the change which has led to their removal.

At present, therefore, the government of Cape Palmas, as well as that of Liberia, stands unaccused and unsuspected of any hostile bearing upon the cause of missions.

The charge against the influence of individual colonists is less easily ascertained, and therefore less easily met; but by a somewhat diligent inquiry, we believe that we know, very nearly, the substance of it. According to our best information, it is not denied that a larger proportion of the colonists are regular communicants in the churches, than in almost any other community in the world; nor is it pretended that Sabbath-breaking, profaneness, or intemperance are very prevalent. It is said, however, that most of their religion is mere animal excitement; that many of the communicants are self-deceived or hypocrites; that cases of church discipline for immorality are numerous; that many of the colonists are lazy and improvident; that some make hard bargains with the natives; that many of them feel no interest in the conversion or improvement of the native population; that they neglect the instruction of hired laborers from native families; that, by the practice of various immoralities, they bring reproach upon Christianity; and finally, that their children are more difficult to manage in school, than the children of the natives.

Now, to a certain extent, all this is doubtless true. The world never saw, and probably never will see, a Christian community so pure, that such complaints against it would be wholly false. That the misconduct of Christians brings reproach upon the gospel and is a hindrance to the progress of piety, is a standing topic of lamentation, even in the most religious parts of New England; and who doubts that, in a certain sense, there is some truth in it? Much more may we expect it to be true among a people whose opportunities for improvement have been no better than the Liberians have enjoyed. We readily concede, that these complaints have too much foundation in facts.

But who, that understands Africa, would on this account, pronounce the colony a hindrance to the progress of Christian piety, morality and civilization? It cannot be, that those who make such objections, or those who yield to them, know what that part of the world was, before the influence of the colony was felt there. Let that be once understood, and the thought that a colony of free colored people from this country *could* demoralize the natives, or render the work of missions among them more difficult, will be effectually banished. Let us inquire, then, what Western Africa was, when first known to Europeans; what influences have since been operating there; what effects those influences are known to have produced; what was the character of the country when the colony was first planted; and what changes have resulted from its existence.

In pursuing this inquiry, we must gather our facts from the whole coast of Upper Guinea, extending from the mouth of the Senegal to the Bight of Benin; for with partial exceptions among the Muham-

medan tribes near the Senegal, the people are substantially one; the same in their physical character, their government, their social condition, their superstitions, manners, and morals; and the same influences have been at work among them all. In the middle portion, extending from Sierra Leone to Elmina and including Liberia, this identity of original character and modifying influence is most complete, and illustrations taken from any part of it, are commonly applicable to the whole. The correctness of these remarks will be more manifest as we proceed.

PART II.

Discovery of Guinea.—Rise, Progress and Influence of the Slave Trade.—Prevalence and Influence of Piracy.—Character of the Natives before the influence of Colonization was felt.

We shall not dwell upon the full length portraits of negroes on Egyptian monuments three thousand years old, because their interpretation might be disputed; though their dress, their attitudes, their banjos, and every indication of character, show that they were then substantially what they are now. We shall pass over Ethiopian slaves in Roman and Carthaginian history; because it might be difficult to prove that they came from the region under consideration. We will begin with Ibn Haukal, the Arabian Geographer, who wrote while the Saracen Ommiades ruled in Spain, and before the founding of Cairo in Egypt; that is, between A. D. 902 and 968.

Ibn Haukal very correctly describes the "land of the blacks," as an extensive region, with the Great Desert on the North, the coast of the ocean to the South, and not easily accessible, except from the West; and as inhabited by people whose skins are of a finer and deeper black than that of any other blacks. He mentions the trade from the land of the blacks, through the Western part of the Great Desert, to Northern Africa, in gold and slaves; which found their way thence to other Muhammedan regions. "The white slaves," he says, "come from Andalus," [Spain] "and damsels of great value, such as are sold for a thousand dinars or more."*

* This expression must not be taken too strictly. Sicily also furnished many Christian slaves, and others were obtained from other parts of Europe. Since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Muhammedans of Northern Africa have been able to obtain but few Christian slaves, except by piracy. They however continued to do what they could. Their corsairs, principally from Algiers on the Barbary coast and Salee on the Western coast of Morocco, seized the vessels and enslaved the crews of all Christian nations trading in those seas. To avoid it, nearly, if not quite, all the maritime nations of Christendom paid them an annual tribute. The United States, we believe, was the first nation that refused to pay this tribute; and this refusal led to wars with Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. Several European powers have since followed our example. In 1815, the Emperor of Morocco stipulated by treaty, that British subjects should no longer be made slaves in his dominions. Several of the southern powers of Europe still pay this tribute. At

Ibn Batuta, of Tangier, after returning from his travels in the east, visited Tombuctoo and other Muhammedan places on the northern border of the negro country in 1352. The pagans beyond them enslaved each other, sold each other to the Muhammedans, or were enslaved by them, as has been done ever since. Some of them, he learned, were cannibals; and when one of the petty monarchs sent an embassy to another, a fatted slave, ready to be killed and eaten, was a most acceptable present.

Of Christian nations, the French claim the honor of first discovering the coast of Guinea. It is said that the records of Dieppe, in Normandy, show an agreement of certain merchants of that place and Rouen, in the year 1365, to trade to that coast. Some place the commencement of that trade as early as 1346. Having traded along the Grain Coast, and made establishments at Grand Sesters and other places, they doubled Cape Palmas, explored the coast as far as Elmina, and commenced a fortress there in 1383. In 1387, Elmina was enlarged, and a chapel built. The civil wars about the close of that century were injurious to commerce. In 1413, the company found its stock diminishing, and gradually abandoned the trade, till only their establishment on the Senegal was left. There are some circumstances which give plausibility to this account; yet it is doubted by some writers, even in France, and generally disbelieved or neglected by others.

The account of the discovery by the Portuguese is more authentic; and its origin must be narrated with some particularity.

During the centuries of war between the Christians of Spain and their Moorish invaders and oppressors, an order of knights was instituted, called "The Order of Christ." Its object was, to maintain the war against the Moors, and also "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion." To this, the knights were consecrated by a solemn vow. Henry of Loraine was rewarded for his services in these wars with the gift of Portugal, and of whatever else he should take from the Moors. Under his descendants, Portugal became a kingdom; and John I., having expelled or slaughtered the last of the Moors in his dominions, passed into Africa and took Ceuta in 1415. He was attended in this expedition by his son, Henry, Duke of Viseo and Grand Master of the Order of Christ. Henry distinguished himself during the siege; remained some time in Africa to carry on the war, and learned that beyond the Great Desert were the country of the Senegal and the Jaloffs. With the double design of conquering infidels and finding a passage to India by sea, having already pushed his discoveries to Cape Bojador, he obtained a bull from Pope Martin V., granting to the Portuguese an exclusive right in all the islands they already possessed, and also in all territories they

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this day, the Turks and Persians obtain "black slaves" from the interior of Africa, by the way of Nubia and Egypt, and by sea from Zeila and Berbera, near the outlet of the Red Sea, and from the Zanzibar coast. According to Sir T. F. Buxton, this branch of the slave trade consumes 100,000 victims annually, half of whom live to become serviceable. White slaves, mostly "damsels of great value," they procure from Circassia and other regions around Mount Caucasus.

might in future discover, from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. The Pope also granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering the nations of those regions to Christ and his church. And certainly, few indulgences have been granted to souls that had more need of them.

The Portuguese laity were at first averse to an enterprise which appeared rash and useless; but the clergy rose up in its favor, and bore down all opposition. Ships were fitted out, and after some failures, Gilianez doubled Cape Bojador in 1432. In 1434, Alonzo Gonzales explored the coast for thirty leagues beyond. In 1435, he sailed along twenty-four leagues further. In an attempt to seize a party of natives, some were wounded on both sides. In 1440, Antonio Gonzales made the same voyage, seized about ten of the natives, all Moors, and brought them away.* Nunno Tristan discovered Cape Blanco. In 1442, Antonio Gonzales returned to the coast, and released one of the Moors formerly carried away, on his promise to pay seven Guinea slaves for his ransom. The promise was not fulfilled; but two other Moors ransomed themselves for several blacks of different countries and some gold dust. The place was hence called Rio del Oro, (Gold River,) and is nearly under the tropic of Cancer. In 1443, Nunno Tristan discovered Arguin, and caught 14 blacks. In 1444, Gilianez and others, in six caravels, seized 195 blacks, most of whom were Moors, near Arguin, and were well rewarded by their prince. In 1445, Gonzales de Cintra, with seven of his men, were killed 14 leagues beyond Rio del Oro, by 200 Moors. In 1446, Antonio Gonzales was sent to treat with the Moors at Rio del Oro, concerning peace, commerce, and their conversion to Christianity. They refused to treat. Nunno Tristan brought away 20 slaves. Denis Fernandez passed by the Senegal, took four blacks in a fishing boat, and discovered Cape Verde. In 1447, Antonio Gonzales took 25 Moors near Arguin, and took 55 and killed others at Cape Blanco. Da Gram took 54 at Arguin, ran eight leagues further and took 50 more, losing seven men. Lancelot and others, at various places, killed many and took about 180, of whom 20, being allies treacherously seized, were afterwards sent back. Nunno Tristan entered the Rio Grande, where he and all his men but four were killed by poisoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez, 40 leagues beyond, had two battles with the natives, in one of which he was wounded. Gilianez and others were defeated with the loss of five men at Cape Verde, made 48 slaves at Arguin, and took two women and killed seven natives at Palma. Gomez Perez, being disappointed in the ransom of certain Moors at Rio del Oro, brought away 80 slaves.

Thus far from Portuguese historians. Next, let us hear the accounts which voyagers give of their own doings and discoveries. The oldest whose works are extant, and one of the most intelligent and trustworthy, is Aluise de Cada Mosto, a Venetian in the service of Portugal.

Cada Mosto sailed in 1455. He found the people around Cape Blanco and Arguin, Muhammedans. He calls them Arabs. They

* The common statement, that the first slaveswere brought home by *Alonzo* Gonzales, in 1434, appears to be an error.

traded with Barbary, Tombuctoo and the negroes. They get from ten to eighteen negroes for a Barbary horse. From 700 to 800 annually are brought to Arguin and sold to the Portuguese. Formerly, the Portuguese used to land by night, surprise fishing villages and country places, and carry off Arabs. They had also seized some of the Azenaghi, who are a tawny race, north of Senegal, and who make better slaves than the negroes; but, as they are not confirmed Muhammedans, Don Henry had hopes of their conversion, and had made peace with them. South of the Senegal are the Jaloffs, who are savages, and extremely poor. Their king lives by robbery, and by forcing his subjects and others into slavery. He sells slaves to the Azenaghi, Arabs and Christians. Both sexes are very lascivious, and they are exceedingly addicted to sorcery. A little south of Cape Verde, he found negroes who would suffer no chief to exist among them, lest their wives and children should be taken and sold for slaves, "as they are in all other negro countries that have kings and lords." They use poisoned arrows, "are great idolaters, without any law, and extremely cruel." Further on, he sent on shore a baptized negro as an interpreter, who was immediately put to death. He entered the Gambia, and was attacked by the natives in 15 canoes. After a battle, in which one negro was killed, they consented to a parley. They told him they had heard of the dealings of white men on the Senegal; knew that they bought negroes only to eat; would have no trade with them, but would kill them and give their goods to their king. He left the river and returned. The next year he entered the Gambia again, and went up about forty miles. He staid eleven days, made a treaty with Battimansa, bought some slaves of him, and left the river because the fever had seized his crew. He found some Muhammedan traders there; but the people were idolaters, and great believers in sorcery. They never go far from home by water, for fear of being seized as slaves. He coasted along to the Kasamansa and Rio Grande; but finding the language such as none of his interpreters could understand, returned to Portugal.

In 1461, the Portuguese began to take permanent possession, by erecting a fort at Arguin.

1462, Piedro de Cintra discovered Sierra Leone, Gallinas River,—which he called Rio del Fumi, because he saw nothing but smoke there,—Cape Mount, and Cape Mesurado, where he saw many fires among the trees, made by the negroes who had sight of the ships, and had never seen such things before. Sixteen miles farther along the coast, a few natives came off in canoes, two or three in each. They were all naked, had some wooden darts and small knives, two targets and three bows; had rings about their ears and one in the nose, and teeth strung about their necks, which seemed to be human. Such is our earliest notice of what is now Liberia. The teeth were those of slaughtered enemies, worn as trophies. The account of this voyage was written by Cada Mosto.

In 1463, Don Henry died, and the Guinea trade, which had been his property, passed into the hands of the king. He farmed it, for five years, to Fernando Gomez, for 500 ducats, and an obligation to explore 500 additional leagues of coast. In 1471, Juan de Santerem and

Pedro de Escobar explored the Gold Coast, and discovered Rio del Oro del Mina; that is, Gold Mine River, which afterwards gave name to the fortress of Elmina.

In 1481, two Englishmen, John Tintam and William Fabian, began to fit out an expedition to Guinea; but John II. of Portugal sent two ambassadors to England, to insist on his own exclusive claims to that country, and the voyage was given up.

The same year, the king of Portugal sent ten ships, with 500 soldiers and 100, or as some say, 200 laborers, and a proper complement of priests as missionaries, to Elmina. They arrived, and on the 19th of January, landed, and celebrated the first mass in Guinea. Prayer was offered for the conversion of the natives, and the perpetuity of the church about to be founded.

In 1484, John II. invited the powers of Europe to share with him the expense of these discoveries, and of "making conquests on the infidels," which tended to the common benefit of all; but they declined. He then obtained from the Pope a bull, confirming the former grant to Portugal, of all the lands they should discover from Cape Bojador to India, forbidding other nations to attempt discoveries in those parts of the world, and decreeing that if they should make any, the regions so discovered should belong to Portugal. From this time, the king of Portugal, in addition to his other titles, styled himself "Lord of Guinea."

The same year, Diego Cam passed the Bight of Benin, discovered Congo, and explored the coast to the twenty second degree of south latitude. In a few years, a treaty was made with the king of Congo, for the conversion of himself and his kingdom. The king and several of the royal family were baptized; but on learning that they must abandon polygamy, nearly all renounced their baptism. This led to a war, which ended in their submission to Rome.

About the same time, the king of Benin applied for missionaries, hoping thereby to draw Portuguese trade to his dominions. "But they being sent, the design was discovered not to be religion, but covetousness. For these heathens bought christened slaves; and the Portuguese, with the same avarice, sold them after being baptized, knowing that their new masters would oblige them to return to their old idolatry. This scandalous commerce subsisted till the religious king John III. forbade it, though to his great loss." Such was the character of the Portuguese in Guinea.

And here, for the sake of placing these events in their true connection with the history of the world, it may be well to state, that in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1492, Columbus made his first voyage to America. In 1493, May 2, Pope Alexander, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge and apostolic power," granted to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, all countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered or might discover, on condition of their planting and propagating there the Christian faith. Another bull, issued the next day, decreed that a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores, and extending from pole to pole, should divide the claims of Spain from those of Portugal; and in June, 1494, another bull removed this line of demarcation to 370 leagues west of

the Cape Verde Islands. In 1492, Vasco de Gama succeeded in reaching India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thenceforth, the more splendid atrocities of the East and West Indies threw those on the coast of Guinea into the shade, and historians have recorded them with less minuteness; so that, from this time, we are unable to give names and dates with the same precision as heretofore. We know, however, that they continued to extend their intercourse with the natives, and their possessions along the coast.

It was some time previous to 1520, that one Bemoi came to Portugal, representing himself as the rightful king of the Jaloffs, and requesting aid against his rivals. To obtain it, he submitted to baptism, with twenty-four of his followers, and agreed to hold his kingdom as a feoff of Portugal. Pedro Vaz de Cunna was sent out, with twenty caravels well manned and armed, to assist him, and to build a fort at the mouth of the Senegal. The fort was commenced; but Pedro found some pretext for quarreling with Bemoi, and stabbed him to the heart. Intercourse, however, was soon established extensively with the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and other races in that region; of whom the Portuguese, settling in great numbers among them, became the virtual lords. We find them subsequently in possession of forts or trading houses, or living as colonists, at the Rio Grande, Sierra Leone, probably at Gallinas, Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado, certainly at the Junk, Sesters, and Sangwin on the coast of Liberia, at Cape Three Points, Axim, Elmina, and numerous other places on the Ivory, Gold and Slave Coasts. So universally predominant was their influence, that in the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the common language of business, and was everywhere generally understood by such natives as had intercourse with foreigners. A few Portuguese words, such as "palaver," "fetish" and perhaps some others, remain in current use among the natives to this day.

Of the character of the Portuguese on the coast, some judgment may be formed from what has already been stated. It seems rapidly to have grown worse and worse. It was a place of banishment for criminals, convicted of various outrages, violence and robbery; a place where fugitives from justice sought and found a refuge; a place where adventurers who hated the restraints of law, sought freedom and impunity. "No wonder, therefore," says a writer who had been at Elmina, "that the histories of those times give an account of unparalleled violence and inhumanities perpetrated at the place by the Portuguese, whilst under their subjection, not only against the natives and such Europeans as resorted thither, but even amongst themselves." Bad as the native character originally was, Portuguese influence rapidly added to its atrocity. A series of wars, which commenced among them about this time, illustrates the character of both.

In 1515, or as some say, in 1505, the Cumbas, from the interior, began to make plundering incursions upon the Capez, about Sierra Leone. The Cumbas were doubtless a branch of the Giagas, another division of whom emigrated, twenty or thirty years later, to the upper region on the Congo river, and there founded the kingdom of Ansiko, otherwise called Makoko, whose king ruled over thirteen kingdoms. "Their food," says Rees' Cyclopedia, Art. Ansiko, "is said to be hu-

man flesh, and human bodies are hung up for sale in their shambles. Conceiving that they have an absolute right to dispose of their slaves at pleasure, their prisoners of war are fattened, killed and eaten, or sold to butchers." Specimens of this cannibal race, from near the same region, have shown themselves within a very few years. The Cumbaz, on invading the Capez, were pleased with the country, and resolved to settle there. They took possession of the most fertile spots, and cleared them of their inhabitants, by killing and eating some, and selling others to the Portuguese, who stood ready to buy them. In 1678, that is, 163 years or more from its commencement, this war was still going on. *

* These Giagas form one of the most horribly interesting subjects for investigation, in all history. In Western Africa, they extended their ravages as far south as Benguela. Their career in that direction seems to have been arrested by the great desert, sparsely peopled by the Damaras and Namaquas, extending from Benguela to the Orange River, and presenting nothing to plunder. In 1586, the missionary Santos found them at war with the Portuguese settlements on the Zambeze. He describes their ravages, but without giving dates, along the eastern coast for a thousand miles northward to Melinda, where they were repulsed by the Portuguese. Antonio Fernandez, writing from Abyssinia in 1609, mentions an irruption of the Galae, who are said to be the same people, though some dispute their identity. These Galae, "a savage nation, begotten of devils, as the vulgar report," he informs us, issued from their forests and commenced their ravages a hundred years before the date of his letter; that is, about the time of the invasion of Sierra Leone by the Cumbas. We find no express mention of their cannibalism; but in other respects they seem closely to resemble the Giagas. Thus we find them, from the commencement of the sixteenth century far into the seventeenth, ravaging the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and through thirty degrees of latitude. As to their original location, accounts differ. Some place it back of the northern part of Liberia. This was evidently one region from which they emigrated. Their migrations hence to Sierra Leone on the north and Congo and Benguela on the south, are recorded facts. Here, under the name of Mani, Manez, or Monou, though comparatively few in numbers, they exercised a supremacy over and received tribute from the Quojahs, the Folgias, and all the maritime tribes from Sierra Leone almost to Cape Palmas. East of Cape Palmas, their cannibalism and general ferocity marked the character of the people quite down to the coast, especially along what was called the Malegentes (Bad People) and Quaqua coasts. The testimony is conclusive, that the Cumbas who invaded Sierra Leone and the Giagas of Ansiko and Benguela were from this region. According to other accounts, their origin was in the region on the eastern slope of the continent, from the upper waters of the Nile and the borders of Abyssinia, extending southward across the equator. In most regions, they appeared merely as roving banditti, remaining in a country only long enough to reduce it to desolation. Every where the Giagas themselves were few, but had numerous followers, who were of the same ferocious character. Every where, except perhaps among the Galae, they had the same practice of making scars on their faces by way of ornament. Every where they practiced the same cannibalism. On taking the city of Quiloa, a little south of Zanzibar, they butchered "three thousand Moors, for future dainties, to eat at leisure." Every where their religion was substantially the same, consisting mainly in worshipping the devil when about to commence an expedition. They had various names, some of which have been already mentioned. In the east, they were also called Mumbos, Zimbas, and Muzimbas. In the same region, and the vicinity of Congo, they were also called Jagges, Gagas, Giachi, and it was said, called themselves Agags. Compare also, of terms still in use, the Gallas, a savage people on the south of Abyssinnia, who are doubtless the Galae of Fernandez; the Golahs, formerly written Galas, north east of Monrovia, in the Monou region, of whose connection with the Giagas, however, there appears to be no other evidence; and the Mumbo Jumbo, or fictitious devil, with whom the priests overawe the superstitious in the whole region south of the Gambia. Their followers, in eastern Africa, were called Caffres; but perhaps the word was used in its original

The trade in slaves received a new impulse about this time, from the demand for them in the Spanish West Indies. They had been introduced into those colonies, at least as early as 1503; and the trade was encouraged by edicts, of Ferdinand V. in 1511, and of Charles V. in 1515. At the close of the century, this trade was immense. Portuguese residents bought the slaves of the natives, or procured them otherwise, and sold them to Spanish traders, who carried them to the West Indies.

The Protestants of England and Holland felt little respect for the Pope's grant of all Western Africa to Portugal; and even the French soon learned to disregard it.

The English took the lead. In 1551, and again in 1552, Thomas Windham visited the coast of Morocco. The Portuguese threatened him, that if found again in those seas, he and his crew should be treated as "mortal enemies." Nothing daunted by these threats, he sailed again the next year. He took a Portuguese partner as a guide, and visited the whole coast from the river Sestos to Benin. In 1554, Capt. John Lok, with three ships, reached the coast at Cape Mesurado, sailed along it nearly or quite to Benin, and brought home "certain black slaves," the first, so far as appears, ever brought to England. From this time, voyages appear to have been made annually, and some times several in a year, always in armed ships, and attended with more or less fighting with the Portuguese, the natives, or both. In 1564, David Carlet attempted to trade with the negroes near Elmina. The negroes, hired and instructed by the Portuguese, first secured their confidence, and then betrayed Carlet, a merchant who accompanied him, and twelve of his crew, to the Portuguese, as prisoners. This mode of employing the negroes now became a common practice. In 1590, "about 42" Englishmen were taken or slain and their goods seized by the Portuguese and negroes combined at Portudal and Joal, on the coast of the Jaloffs. Captains Rainolds and Dassel, who were there the next year, detected a similar conspiracy against themselves, said by the chief conspirator to be authorized by the king of Portugal. In 1588, the African Company was incorporated.

Arabic sense, as meaning infidels. Near the Congo, their followers were called Ansikos, and their principal chief, "the great Makoko," which some have mistaken for a national designation. Here, also, Imbe was a title of office among them, while in the east it was applied to the whole people. In Angola they were called Gindae. Whether any traces of them still remain in Eastern Africa, or around Congo and Benguela, we are too ignorant of those regions to decide. In the region of Liberia, there can be no doubt on the subject. American missionaries at Cape Palmas have seen and conversed with men from the interior, who avow without hesitation their fondness for human flesh, and their habit of eating it. On the Cavally river, the eastern boundary of Cape Palmas, the cannibal region begins some twenty, thirty, or forty miles from the coast, and extends northward, in the rear of Liberia, indefinitely. Farther east, it approaches and perhaps reaches the coast. In this region, prisoners of war and sometimes slaves are still slain for food. Here, too, slaves are sacrificed at the ratification of a treaty, and trees are planted to mark the spot and serve as records of the fact. Such trees have been pointed out to our missionaries, by men who were present when they were planted. Compare, too, the human sacrifices of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the devil-worship of all Western Africa.—But after all, were the Giagas one race of men, as cotemporary historians supposed? Or were they men of a certain character, then predominant through nearly all Africa south of the Great Desert?

The French, we have seen, profess to have been the first traders to the coast of Guinea, and to have always retained their post at the Senegal. Rainolds found, in 1591, that they had been there more than thirty years, and were in good repute. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were detested; and as for the Portuguese, "most of them were banished men, or fugitives from justice; men of the basest behavior that he and the rest of the English had ever seen of these nations."

In 1578, the French were trading at Accra, on the Gold Coast. The negroes in the vicinity, at the instigation of the Portuguese, destroyed the town. There was then a standing offer, from the Portuguese to the negroes, of 100 crowns for a Frenchman's head. In 1582, the Portuguese sunk a French ship, and made slaves of all the crew who escaped a watery grave.

There is no account of the Dutch on this coast, till the voyage of Barent Erickson in 1595. The Portuguese offered to reward the negroes, if they would kill or betray him. They also offered a reward of 100 florins for the destruction of a Dutch ship. About the same time, a Dutch crew, with the exception of one or two men, was massacred at Cape Coast. Of another crew, three Dutchmen were betrayed by the negroes and made slaves by the Portuguese at Elmina. In 1599, the negroes near Elmina, at the instigation of the Portuguese, inveigled five Dutchmen into their power, beheaded them, and in a few hours made drinking cups of their skulls.

But the English and Dutch continued to crowd in, and the Portuguese, who after such atrocities, could not coëxist with them on the same coast, were compelled to retire. In 1604, they were driven from all their factories in what is now Liberia. Instead of leaving the country, however, they retreated inland, established themselves there, intermarried with the natives, and engaged in commerce between the more inland tribes and the traders on the coast; making it a special object to prevent the produce of the interior from reaching the coast, except through their hands; and for this purpose they obstructed all efforts of others to explore the country. They traded with the people on the Niger; and one of their mulatto descendants told Villault, in 1666, that they traded along that river as far as Benin.* Their posterity gradually became merged and lost among the negro population; but the obstruction of intercourse with the interior became the settled policy of those tribes, and has done much to retard the growth of commerce in Liberia.

In other parts, the Portuguese held possession some years longer. But the Dutch took their fort at Elmina in 1637, and that at Axim in 1642; after which they were soon expelled from the Gold and Ivory Coasts. Before 1666, they had given place to the Dutch at Cape Mount, and to the English at Sierra Leone. In 1621, the English were trading in the Gambia, and in 1664, built James Fort near its mouth. Here also the Portuguese retired inland and mingled with the natives. Not many years since, some of their descendants were still to be found.

* As the Niger was then supposed by Europeans to flow westward and disembogue itself by the Senegal or Gambia, this statement was considered absurd; but since the discovery of the mouth of the Niger in Benin, there is reason to suppose it true. It ought to have led to an earlier discovery of the true course and outlet of that long mysterious river.

The influence of the English, Dutch and French on the character of the natives, was in some respects different from that of the Portuguese; but whether it was on the whole any better, is a question of some difficulty. Portuguese writers assert that the Dutch gained the favor of the negroes by teaching them drunkenness and other vices; that they became absolute pirates, and seized and held several places on the coast, to which they had no right but that of the strongest.

The Dutch trade was, by law, exclusively in the hands of an incorporated company, having authority to seize and confiscate to its own use, the vessels and cargoes of private traders found on the coast. These private traders, or interlopers, as they were called, were frequently seized by stratagem by the Dutch garrisons on the coast, and treated with great severity. But they provided themselves with fast sailing ships, went well armed and manned, and generally fought to the last man, rather than be taken by the Company's forces. Capt. Phillips, in 1693, found more than a dozen of these interlopers on the coast, and had seen four or five of them at a time lying before Elmina castle for a week together, trading, as it were, in defiance of it.

The English had also their incorporated company, and their private traders. Of the character of the latter, we find no specification which dates in this century. In 1721, there were about thirty of them settled on the "starboard side of the bay of Sierra Leone." Atkins describes them as "loose, privateering blades, who if they cannot trade fairly with the natives, will rob. Of these," he says, "John Leadstine, commonly called 'Old Cracker,' is reckoned the most thriving." This man, called Leadstone in Johnson's "History of the Pirates," had been an old buccanier, and kept two or three guns before his door, "to salute his friends the pirates when they put in there." Such, substantially, appears to have been the character of the English "private traders" upon this coast from the beginning. Of the regular traders, English and Dutch, a part, and only a part, seem to have been comparatively decent.

The influence of the Pirates on this coast deserves a distinct consideration.

They appeared there occasioually, as early as the year 1600, and seem to have increased with the increase of commerce. For some years, the piratically disposed appear to have found scope for the indulgence of their propensities among the buccaniers of the West Indies. But after the partial breaking up of the buccaniers in 1688, and still more after their suppression in 1697, they spread themselves over the whole extent of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The coast of Guinea was one of their principal haunts, and Sierra Leone a favorite resort. They not only plundered at sea, but boldly entered any port where the people, whether native or European, were not strong enough to resist them, and traded there on their own terms. In 1693, Phillips found that the governor of Porto Praya made it a rule never to go on board any ship in the harbor, lest it should prove to be a pirate, and he should be detained till he had furnished a supply of provisions, for which he would be paid by a bill of exchange on some imaginary person in London. Avery, commonly known as "Long Ben," had thus extorted supplies from the Governor of St. Thomas, and paid him by a bill on

"the pump at Aldgate." At Cape Mesurado, Phillips found a Scotchman, of the crew of Herbert, the pirate. The crew had quarrelled, all the rest were killed or afterwards died of their wounds, he ran the brigantine ashore near the Cape, and had since been living among the natives. Capt Snelgrave arrived at Sierra Leone, April 1, 1719. He found three pirates in the harbor; Cocklyn, Le Bouse and Davis. They had lately taken ten English vessels. His first mate, Jones, betrayed him into their hands. He had with him a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all English pirates who should surrender themselves on or before the first of July. An old buccanier tore it in pieces. They took Snelgrave's vessel for their own use, leaving an inferior one for him, and left the bay about the 29th of the month. Afterwards, he tells us, that more than a hundred vessels fell into the hands of these pirates on the coast of Guinea, and some of the gang did immense damage in the West Indies. A few days after sailing, Davis took the Princess, of London, plundered her and let her go; but her second mate, Roberts, joined him. He landed at Prince's Island, where the Portuguese governor at first favored them, for the sake of their trade, but finally assassinated Davis. The crew then chose Roberts for their captain, whose exploits were still more atrocious.

The same year, England, the pirate, took an English vessel near Sierra Leone, murdered the captain, Skinner, and gave her to Howell Harris, who, after trial and acquittal, obtained command of a merchant sloop, and turned pirate. Having had "pretty good success" for a while, he attacked St. Jago, in the Cape Verde Islands, but was repulsed. He then took, plundered and destroyed the English fort St. James at the mouth of the Gambia. The fort appears to have been partially rebuilt immediately. In 1721, the African Company sent out the Gambra Castle, Capt. Russell, with a company of soldiers under Maj. Massey, to strengthen it. The new governor, Whitney, had just arrived. Massey, with the assistance of Lowther, second mate, seized both the fort and the ship; and after cruising awhile as a pirate, went home, brought on his own trial, and was hanged.

In 1721, Roberts, before mentioned, had become so formidable as to attract the notice of the English government. Two ships of 50 guns each were sent out to capture him. Atkins, surgeon of the squadron, has given an account of the cruise. At Elmina, in January, they found that Roberts had "made a bold sweep" in August, had taken a vessel a few leagues from that place, and had "committed great cruelties." His three ships were well manned, "seamen every where entering with them; and when they refused, it was oftener through fear, than any detestation of the practice." This shows what was then the general character of English seamen in that region, and what influence they must have exerted on the natives. January 15, they reached Whidah. The pirates had just plundered and ransomed eleven ships, and been gone twenty-four hours. They followed on to the south, and by the 12th of February, took all three of their ships; the crew of the last having abandoned it and fled. They found on board about 300 Englishmen, 60 or 70 stout negroes, great plenty of trade goods, and eight or ten thousand pounds of gold dust. The trial of these pirates occupied the Court at Cape Coast Castle twenty-six

days; 52 were executed there, 74 acquitted, 20 condemned to servitude, and 17 sent to the Marshalsea.

The next year, Capt. George Roberts was taken by three pirates, of whom Edmund Loe was the chief, at the Cape Verde Islands. While there, after Loe had gone, he fell in with Charles Franklin,* who had been taken some time before by Bartholomew Roberts, a pirate, had escaped from him at Sierra Leone, and taken refuge among the negroes in the interior.

The pirates seem generally to have been content with trading at Sierra Leone, without plundering the people, though Roberts took the place in 1720. They afterwards took permanent possession of the first bay below the Cape, and occupied it for seven years or more, till broken up by an expedition from France in 1730. Hence the place was called "Pirate's Bay," and was so named on British charts.

The moral influence of such a concentration of piracy upon the coast for nearly half a century, cannot be doubtful. The character of pirates, we know, has always been made up of remorseless ferocity, unscrupulous rapacity, and unbridled licentiousness. Perfectly versed in all the vices of civilization, restrained by no moral principle, by no feeling of humanity, by no sense of shame, they landed whenever and almost wherever they pleased upon the whole coast, with forces which it would have been madness to resist, and compelled the inhabitants, whether negro, European or mixed, to become the partners of their revels, the accomplices or dupes of their duplicity, or the victims of their violence. This, added to all the other malign influences at work upon the coast, gave such an education in evil, as probably was never inflicted on any other portion of the human race. A few statements of cotemporary writers may place this matter in a still clearer light. We will confine our remarks to what is now Liberia and its vicinity, where this tempest of evil seems to have fallen with special fury.

Even in the days of Portuguese ascendancy, the Mesurado river was called the Rio Duro, on account of the cruelty of the people.

Dapper, a Dutch writer, whose description of Africa was published about the year 1670, says of the Quojahs, who were predominant from Sierra Leone to the Rio Sestos, that both sexes were extremely licentious, they were great thieves, and much addicted to witchcraft, in practising which they used real poisons. On the death of a chief, it was their practice to strangle one or two female slaves, to bury with

* This case is mentioned chiefly for the sake of introducing a note.—Franklin says that "these inlanders have a notion that the Bakkaraus [whites] have a new world, where they intend to reside, which is inconceivably better than the old; but that there wants so much to be done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they send all the most valuable things from their old world thither, the labor of which is carried on by the negroes they yearly take out of Guinea; that all those blacks must work and slave very hard, without any intermission or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the Bakkaraus are all settled there. But when that is done, having no further service for the blacks, they will send them home to inhabit this world, without ever being molested more by the whites, who will never come here again. This happy time they earnestly wish for."

Such was Franklin's statement to Roberts in 1722, published in London in 1726, and now transcribed from a copy printed in 1745. Is not Bakkarau about ready to spare them?

him. From the Sestos to Cape Palmas, the people were much the same, but still more adroit at theft, and more addicted to witchcraft and devil-worship.

Barbot, Agent General of the French African Company, was on the coast much of the time from 1680 to 1701. He says that the English had formerly a settlement at Sangwin, but abandoned it, because of the ill temper of the blacks. At Bottowa, they are dexterous thieves, and ought to be well looked to in dealing with them.

Phillips,* in 1693, at Grand Sesters, thought it unsafe to go up the river eight miles to visit king Peter, hearing that the natives were very treacherous and bloody. The people whom he saw were surly, and looked like villains. Though his ship carried 36 guns, on learning the temper of the people, he immediately cleared for action and left the river.

Snoek was at Cape Mesurado in 1701. Only one negro came on board, and he saw but a few on shore. Two English ships had two months before ravaged their country, destroyed their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people.

Bosman was on the coast about the same time. His description of Guinea, written in Dutch and translated into several languages, is one of the best extant. "The negroes," he says, "are all, without exception, crafty, villainous and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted; being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating a European, nor indeed one another." The mulattoes, he says, are "a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the negroes nor us; nor indeed dare they trust one another; so that you rarely see them agree together. Whatever is in its own nature worst in the Europeans and negroes, is united in them." At some place, probably beyond Cape Palmas, he saw eleven human sacrifices at one funeral.

Marchais was at Cape Mesurado in 1724. He says that the English, Dutch and Portuguese writers all unite in representing the natives there as faithless, cunning, revengeful and cruel to the last degree; and he assents to the description. He adds, that "formerly they offered human sacrifices; but this custom has ceased since they found the profit of selling their prisoners of war to foreigners." He gives a map of the Cape, and the plan of a proposed fort on its summit; and thinks it might yield 1,500 or 2,000 slaves annually, besides a large amount of ivory.

* Phillips sailed in the employment of the English African Company, and was evidently one of the most humane, conscientious and intelligent voyagers to that coast. He found the people of the Quaqua coast, a little beyond Cape Palmas, to be cannibals, as most who visited them also testify. At Secondee, Johnson, the English factor, had been surprised in the night, cut in pieces and his goods plundered by the negroes, at the instigation of the Dutch. At Whidah, Phillips bought for his two ships, 1,300 slaves. Twelve of them willfully drowned themselves, and others starved themselves to death. He was advised to cut off the legs and arms of a few, to terrify the rest, as other captains had done; but he could not think of treating with such barbarity, poor creatures, who being equally the work of God's hands, are doubtless as dear to him as the whites. He saw the bodies of several eaten by the sharks which followed his ship. On arriving at Barbadoes, the ship under his immediate command had lost "14 men and 320 negroes." On each dead negro, the African Company lost £10, and the ship lost the freight, £10 10s. He delivered alive 372, who sold, on an average, at about £19. Such was the slave trade, in its least horrible aspect, in 1693.

At the river Sestos, Marchais witnessed a negro funeral. "The captain or chief of a village dying of a hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives immediately spread the news through the town. All the women ran there and howled like furies. The favorite wife distinguished herself by her grief, and not without cause." She was watched by the other women, to prevent her escape. The Marbut, or priest, examined the body, and pronounced the death natural—not the effect of witchcraft. Then followed washing the body, and carrying it in procession through the village, with tearing of the hair, howling, and other frantic expressions of grief. "During this, the marbut made a grave, deep and large enough to hold two bodies. He also stripped and skinned a goat. The pluck served to make a ragout, of which he and the assistants ate. He also caused the favorite wife to eat some; who had no great inclination to taste it, knowing it was to be her last. She ate some, however; and during this repast, the body of the goat was divided in small pieces, broiled and eaten. The lamentations began again; and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony, he took the favorite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two stout negroes. These, seizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breast. Then, holding each other with their hands on their shoulders, they stamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till they had broken the woman's breast. Having thus at least half despatched her, they threw her into the grave, with the remainder of the goat, casting her husband's body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and stones. Immediately the cries ceasing, a quick silence succeeded the noise, and every one returned home as quietly as if nothing had happened."

Smith was sent out by the African Company to survey the coast, in 1726. At Gallinas, in December, he found Benjamin Cross, whom the natives had seized and kept three months, in reprisal for some of their people, who had been seized by the English. Such seizures, he says, were too often practiced by Bristol and Liverpool ships. Cross was ransomed for about £50. At Cape Mount, he found the natives cautious of intercourse, for fear of being seized. At Cape Mesurado, in January, 1727, he saw many of the natives, but not liking to venture on shore, had no discourse with them.

In 1730, Snelgrave, who had been captured by pirates nine years before, was again on the coast. There was then not a single European factory on the whole Windward Coast, and Europeans were "shy of trusting themselves on shore, the natives being very barbarous and uncivilized." He never met a white man who durst venture himself up the country. He mentions the suspicious and revengeful feelings of the natives, occasioned by seizing them for slaves, as a cause of the danger. He, too, witnessed human sacrifices.

Such was the character of what is now Liberia, after 268 years of intercourse with slave traders and pirates.

Meanwhile, nations were treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. The Genoese at first had the privilege of furnishing the Spanish Colonies with negro slaves. The French next obtained it, and kept it till, according to Spanish official returns, it had yield-

ed them $204,000,000. In 1713, the British Government, by the famous Assiento treaty, secured it for the South Sea Company for thirty years. In 1739, Spain was desirous to take the business into her own hands, and England sold out the remaining four years for £100,000, to be paid in London in three months.*

From this time to 1791, when the British Parliament began to collect testimony concerning the slave trade, there seems to have been no important change in the influences operating on the coast, or in the character of its inhabitants. The collection and publication of testimony was continued till the passage, in 1807, of the act abolishing the trade. From this testimony, it appeared that nearly all the masters of English ships engaged in that trade, were of the most abandoned character, none too good to be pirates. Their cruelty to their own men was so excessive and so notorious, that crews could never be obtained without great difficulty, and seldom without fraud. Exciting the native tribes to make war on each other for the purpose of obtaining slaves, was a common practice. The Windward Coast, especially, was fast becoming depopulated. The Bassa country, and that on the Mesurado and Junk rivers, were particularly mentioned, as regions which had suffered in these wars; where the witnesses had seen the ruins of villages, lately surprised and burned in the night, and rice fields unharvested, because their owners had been seized and sold. On other parts of the coast, the slaves were collected and kept for embarkation in factories; but on the Windward Coast, "every tree was a factory," and when the negroes had anything to sell, they signified it by kindling a fire. Here, also, was the principal scene of "panyaring;" that is, of enticing a negro into a canoe, or other defenceless situation, and then seizing him. The extent of this practice may be inferred from the fact, that it had a name, by which it was universally known. A negro was hired to panyar a fine girl, whom an English captain desired to possess. A few days after, he was panyared himself and sold to the same captain. "What!" he exclaimed,—"buy me, a great trader?" "Yes," was the reply,—"we will buy any of you, if any body will sell you." It was given in evidence, that business could not be transacted, if the buyer were to inquire into the title of those from whom he bought. Piracy, too, added its horrors whenever the state of the world permitted, and, as we shall have occasion to show, was rampant when Liberia was founded.

Factories, however, were gradually re-established and fortified; but not till the slave trade had nearly depopulated the coast, and thus diminished the danger. Two British subjects, Bostock and McQuinn, had one at Cape Mesurado. In June 1813, His Majesty's ship Thais sent forty men on shore, who after a battle, in which one of their number was killed, entered the factory and captured its owners. French, and especially Spanish factories, had become numerous.

A large proportion, both of the slave ships and factories, were pirat-

* Rees' Cyclopedia, Art. Assiento. The statement may be slightly inaccurate. The treaty, or "convention" with Spain in 1739, stipulated for the payment of £95,000, and the settlement of certain other claims, the amount of which was still to be ascertained.

ical. By the laws of several nations, the trade was prohibited, and ships engaged in it liable to capture. They therefore prepared to defend themselves. The general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon, left many privateers and their crews out of employment, and they engaged at once in piracy and the slave trade. In 1818, Lord Castlereagh communicated to the ambassadors of the leading powers of Europe, a list of eighteen armed slavers lately on the coast, of five vessels taken and destroyed by them, and of several battles with others; and these were mentioned only as specimens.

The natives, notwithstanding the evils which the slave trade inflicted upon them, were infatuated with it. In 1821, the agents of the Colonization Society attempted to purchase a tract for their first settlement at Grand Bassa. The only obstacle was, the refusal of the people to make any concession towards an abandonment of that traffic. In December of that year, a contract with that indispensable condition was made for Cape Mesurado. The first colonists took possession January 7, 1822. In November of the same year, and again in December, the natives attacked the Colony in great numbers, and with an obstinate determination to exterminate the settlers and renew the trade at that accustomed spot. In April and May, 1823, Mr. Ashmun, governor of the Colony, went on business along the Coast about 150 miles to Settra Kroo. "One century ago," he remarks, "a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense and almost continuous forest. This is almost wholly a second growth; commonly distinguished from the original by the profusion of brambles and brushwood, which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the bill-hook."

In May, 1825, Mr. Ashmun purchased for the colony, a fine tract on the St. Paul's. Of this he says: "Along this beautiful river were formerly scattered, in Africa's better days, innumerable native hamlets; and till within the last twenty years, nearly the whole river board, for one or two miles back, was under that slight culture which obtains among the natives of this country. But the population has been wasted by the rage for trading in slaves, with which the constant presence of slaving vessels and the introduction of foreign luxuries have inspired them. The south bank of this river, and all the intervening country between it and the Mesurado, have been, from this cause, nearly desolated of inhabitants. A few detached and solitary plantations, scattered at long intervals through the tract, just serve to interrupt the silence and relieve the gloom which reigns over the whole region."

The moral desolation, he found to be still more complete. He writes: "The two slaving stations of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado have, for several ages, desolated of every thing valuable, the intervening very fertile and beautiful tract of country. The forests have remained untouched, all moral virtue has been extinguished in the people, and their industry annihilated, by this one ruinous cause." "Polygamy and domestic slavery, it is well known, are as universal as the scanty means of the people will permit. And a licentiousness of practice which none—not the worst part of any civilized community on earth—can parallel, gives a hellish consummation to the frightful de-

formity imparted by sin to the moral aspect of these tribes." "The emigrants, from the hour of their arrival in Africa, are acted upon by the vitiating example of the natives of this country. The amount and effects of this influence, I fear, are generally and egregiously underrated. It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect possessed by an ignorant rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast. It may not be easily credited, but the fact certainly is, that the advantage is, oftenest, on the side of the latter. The sameness of color, and the corresponding characteristics to be expected in different portions of the same race, give to the example of the natives a power and influence over the colonists, as extensive as it is corrupting. For it must not be suppressed, however the fact may be at variance with the first impressions from which most African journalists have allowed themselves to sketch the character of the natives, that it is vicious and contaminating in the last degree. I have often expressed my doubt, whether the simple idea of moral justice, as we conceive it from the early dawn of reason, has a place in the thoughts of a pagan African. As a principle of practical morality, I am sure that no such sentiment obtains in the breast of five Africans within my acquaintance. A selfishness which prostrates every consideration of another's good; a habit of dishonest dealing, of which nothing short of unceasing, untiring vigilance can avert the consequences; an unlimited indulgence of the appetites; and the labored excitement* and unbounded gratification of lust the most unbridled and beastly—these are the ingredients of the African character. And however revolting, however, on occasion, concealed by an assumed decency of demeanor, such is the common character of all."

This last extract was dated May 20, 1827, when Mr. Ashmun had been nearly five years in Africa, and in the most favorable circumstances for learning the truth.

And this horrid work was still going on. In August, 1823, Mr. Ashmun wrote:—"I wish to afford the Board a full view of our situation, and of the African character. The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year; but because it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity. King Boatswain received a quantity of goods in trade from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honor to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver. He had not the slaves. Looking round on the peaceable tribes about him, for her victims, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skillfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants, in the dead of night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, the annihilation, with the exception of a few towns, of the whole tribe. Every adult man and woman was murdered; very young children generally

* Of this, in respect to both sexes, we might have produced disgusting testimony more than a century old, relating especially to this part of the coast. In this, as in other things, their character had evidently undergone no essential change.

shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."

King Boatswain was not such an untaught barbarian as some may suppose. He began life without hereditary rank, served in the British Navy till he attained the rank of boatswain, and afterwards gradually rose among his own people by his superior intelligence and force of character. In September, 1824, he seized 86 more of the Queahs.

In August, 1825, the Clarida, a Spanish slaver connected with the factory at Digby, a little north of the St. Paul's, plundered an English brig at anchor in Monrovia harbor. Mr. Ashmun, with 22 volunteers, and the captain of the brig with about an equal force, broke up the factory and released the slaves confined in it. A French and a Spanish factory, both within five miles of Monrovia, uniting their interests with the Clarida, were soon after broken up, and their slaves released. The French factory had kidnapped, or purchased of kidnappers, some of the colonists, and attempted to hold them as slaves.

In 1826, the Minerva, a Spanish slaver, connected with some or all of the three factories at Tradetown, had committed piracy on several American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several of the colonists. At the suggestion of Mr. Ashmun, she was captured by the Dragon, a French brig of war, and condemned at Goree. The factories at Tradetown bought eight of the colonists, who had been "panyared," and refused to deliver them up on demand. In April, Mr. Ashmun, assisted by two Columbian armed vessels, landed, broke up the factories, and released the slaves. The natives, under King West, then rose in defence of the slavers, and made it necessary to burn Tradetown. The Colonial government then publicly prohibited the trade on the whole line of coast, over which it assumed a qualified jurisdiction, from Cape Mount to Tradetown. In July, a combination to restore Tradetown was formed by several piratical vessels and native chiefs. July 27, the brig John of Portland and schooner Bona of Baltimore, at anchor in Monrovia harbor, were plundered by a piratical brig of twelve guns, which then proceeded to Gallinas and took in 600 slaves.

"The slave trade," Mr. Ashmun wrote about this time, "is the pretext under which expensive armaments are fitted out every week from Havanna, and desparadoes enlisted for enterprises to this country; in which, on their arrival, the trade is either forgotten entirely, or attended to as a mere secondary object, well suited to conceal from cruisers they may fall in with, their real object. Scarcely an American trading vessel has for the last twelve months been on this coast, as low as six degrees north, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards."

The batteries for the protection of Monrovia harbor were immediately strengthened, the Tradetown combination was of short continuance, and the growth of the Colony soon changed the character, both of the coast and its visiters.

Would the non-resistance policy of William Penn have succeeded better? It has been tried. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society commenced an unarmed settlement at Bassa Cove, about the end of the year 1834. King Joe Harris sold them land to settle upon, and

professed to be their cordial friend. In a few months, a slaver arrived. Harris had slaves for sale; but the slaver would not trade so near a settlement of Americans. This finished the temptation which Harris had already begun to feel. He fell upon the settlement in the dead of night, killed about twenty of the colonists, and while the remainder fled to save their lives, plundered their houses. A singular fact shows that he was not only fully and minutely acquainted with their peaceful character, but that he was encouraged by it to make the attack. One of the colonists owned a musket, and another sometimes borrowed it; so that Harris could not know in which of their houses it might then happen to be. He therefore refrained from attacking either of those houses.

Would purely missionary establishments be more secure? This also has been tried. The Methodist station at Heddington, on the south bank of the St. Paul's, about 20 miles from Monrovia, was of that character. Gatumba, king of those lately known here as Mendians, and whose stronghold was about two days' march north east from Monrovia, had in his employ, Goterah, a cannibal warrior from the interior, who, with his band of mercenary desperadoes, had desolated many native towns, and taken hosts of slaves for his employer to sell. He was evidently a remnant of the Giagas. One night in 1841, he made an attack on Heddington. His threats, to plunder the mission property, take the children in school for slaves, and eat the missionary, had been reported at Heddington, and arms had been procured for defence. After an obstinate contest, Goterah was shot, while rushing, sword in hand, into the mission-house. His followers were soon seized with a panic and fled. Among the camp equipage which they left, was a kettle, which Goterah had brought with him, to boil the missionary in for his breakfast.

The experiment was tried again. The Episcopal missionaries at Cape Palmas imagined that the peace and safety in which they had been able to live and labor for several years, were in no degree owing to colonial protection, and they resolved to act accordingly. They commenced a station at Half Cavally, about 13 miles east of the Cape, among the natives, but within the territory of the Colony; another at Rockbokah, about eight miles farther east, and beyond the limits of the colonial territory; and another at Taboo, some 17 miles beyond Rockbokah. In 1842, some of the natives near these last named stations seized the schooner Mary Carver, of Salem, murdered the captain and crew, and plundered the vessel. The perpetrators of this outrage soon became known to Mr. Minor at Taboo, and Mr. Appleby at Rockbokah. To guard against exposure and enrich themselves, the chiefs entered into a conspiracy to kill the missionaries and plunder their premises. The missionaries, being aware of the design, were on their guard, and its execution was deferred to a more convenient opportunity, and as Mr. Appleby supposed, was at length abandoned. Meanwhile, Mr. Minor died. The natives within the colonial territory agreed to force the colonists to pay higher prices for provisions, and prepared for war. Early in December, 1843, Mr. Payne, at Half Cavally, finding himself surrounded by armed natives, from whom his life and the lives of his family were in danger, sent to Cape Palmas

for rescue. When his messenger arrived, the U. S. squadron had just come in sight. A vessel was immediately sent for his relief. A force was landed, he and his family were escorted to the shore, taken on board and conveyed to Cape Palmas. On proceeding eastward, to punish the murderers of the crew of the Mary Carver, the squadron took off Mr. Appleby from his dangerous position at Rockbokah. The presence of the squadron soon induced the natives to make peace with the Colony; but for several weeks it was supposed that the Cavally station could never be safely resumed. Both stations, however, have since been resumed, and two new stations have been commenced within the jurisdiction of the Colony.

We may then consider it as proved, by facts of the plainest significancy, that up to the commencement of the year 1844, unarmed men, whether colonists or missionaries, white or black, native or immigrant, could not live safely in that part of the world without colonial protection.

PART III.

Missionary Labors in Western Africa, and their Results.

Perhaps a clearer light may be thrown upon the subject, by a connected view of the various attempts that have been made, to introduce civilization and Christianity into Guinea. It need occupy but little space, as the history of far the greater part of them records only the attempts and their failure.

The Portuguese, we have seen, commenced and prosecuted their discoveries under authority from the Pope, to conquer and convert all unbelievers from Cape Bojador to India. We have seen, too, what a pompous commencement they made at Elmina. Their establishments were at one time numerous along the whole coast of Upper Guinea, and as far north as Arguin. It is said that they everywhere had chapels, and made efforts at proselytism. The language of historians seems to imply that even the Portuguese mulattoes, when driven inland from the Grain Coast in 1604, built chapels in the interior, and strove to make proselytes. In Congo, they put their candidate on the throne by force of arms, and thus converted the nation. In Upper Guinea, they converted a few, and but a few; as the negroes generally would neither give up polygamy, nor submit to auricular confession. In 1607, Dapper states that the Jesuits found some on the Rio Grande who were willing to receive baptism, but not being prepared for it, it was deferred. The same year, he tells us, the Jesuit Bareira baptized the king of Sierra Leone, his family, and several others. He adds, about 1670, "the king still receives baptism, but practices idolatry to please his subjects." According to Bareira's own account, king Philip, whom he baptized, was a hundred years old, and was one of the Cumbas. He professes to have made a more favorable impression on the natives, because he did not engage in the slave trade and other branches of commerce, as all former priests there had done. Labat

informs us, that in 1666, Don Philip, a Christian, reigned at Burré, on the south side of the Sierra Leone river, and kept a Jesuit and a Portuguese Capuchin, who preached Christianity, but without effect. Villault, however, says, the same year, that "the Portuguese settled here have made many converts." Barbot asserts that the Portuguese had converted many in Bulm; that is, many of the Bulloms, on the north of the river. The truth seems to be, that they persuaded a considerable number of individuals to receive baptism, but made no general impression upon the people; so that Labat, himself a missionary, considered their attempt a failure. As to the character of their converts, his Don Philip, keeping a Jesuit and a Capuchin to preach Christianity, and yet practicing idolatry to please his subjects, is doubtless a fair sample. In 1721, one native of some consequence, nine miles up the river, is mentioned as a Romanist. He had been baptized in Portugal. The expedition for the conversion of the Jaloffs, we have seen, was defeated by the assassination of Bemoi. Still, they made some converts in that quarter. But everywhere north of Congo, their converts seem to have been confined almost wholly to the dependents on their trading houses; and when these were given up, their religion soon disappeared.

The French missions, so far as we have been able to discover, commenced in 1635, when five Capuchins were sent to the mouth of the Assinee. In a short time, and before they accomplished any thing, three of them died, and the other two retired to Axim. In 1636, several Capuchins of Normandy were sent as missionaries to Cape Verde, one of whom had the title of prefect; "but they left the country, because they could not live in it." In 1674, another company of Capuchins attempted a mission, probably somewhere on the Ivory or Gold Coast; but nothing is known of its results. In 1687, father Gonsalvez, a Dominican, on his way to India, stopped at Assinee, and left father Henry Cerizier, with a house and six slaves, to commence a mission. Cerizier died in a few months. In 1700, father Loyer, who had been sometime in the West Indies, was nominated by the Propaganda and appointed by the Pope, as Apostolic Prefect of Missions in Guinea. He embarked at Rochelle, April 18, 1701, having with him father Jaques Villard as a missionary, and Aniaba, who, he says, had been given to Gonsalvez by Zenan, king of Assinee, and educated and baptized in France. The European Mercury announced his baptism in the following paragraph: —

"Here is another pagan prince brought over to the Christian faith; —namely, Lewis Hannibal, king of Syria, on the Gold Coast of Africa; who, after being a long time instructed in the Christian principles, and baptized by the bishop of Meaux, the king being his godfather, received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the 27th of February, from the Cardinal de Noailles, and offered at the same time a picture of the Blessed Virgin, to whose protection he submitted his territory; having made a vow, at his return thither, to use his utmost endeavors towards the conversion of his subjects."

On arriving at Grand Sesters, Aniaba went on shore, and, Loyer says, "lived eight days among the negresses, in a way which edified nobody." They touched on the Quaqua coast, and found the people

to be cannibals, eating negroes frequently, and all the white men they could get into their possession. June 25, they reached the Assinee. After a short negotiation for the ground, a fort was built near the eastern shore of the river, at its mouth, and a garrison left for its defence. Aniaba proved worthless. The mission accomplished nothing. Loyer left in 1703. The garrison found it difficult to maintain itself against repeated attacks, and in 1705 the whole establishment was given up.

Who this Aniaba really was, is a matter of some uncertainty. In France, he was certainly represented as the son of Zenan, king of the Assinees, sent thither for education; and in this character, he served for a while as a captain in the French cavalry. Loyer, writing after his disappointment, and with evident mortification, merely represents him as one whom Zenan had given to Gonsalvez. Bosman, to whom we are indebted for the extract from the Mercury, says that he was originally a slave among the Assinees; that a Frenchman obtained possession of him and carried him home, intending to keep him for a valet; that he had shrewdness enough to gull French bishops and cardinals into the belief of his royal descent; and that on his return, he was forced back into the service of his old Assinee master.

Loyer, while there, made some missionary efforts. On one occasion, in the presence of the natives, he broke a fetish into a thousand pieces, trod it under his feet, and then cast it into the fire. They all fled, saying that the lightning would blast him, or the earth swallow him up. Seeing that he remained unharmed, they said it was because he did not believe; on which he exhorted them to be unbelievers too. But his exhortations were in vain. His English editor asks,—"How would he have liked to have had one of his own fetishes so treated? A negro, or a Protestant, would be put to death for such an offence in most popish countries." Villault, in 1667, had used the same argument on the Gold Coast, and as he thought, with more success. He broke the negroes' fetishes, and told them to sign themselves with the cross, and the fetish could not hurt them. Many came to him and exchanged their fetishes for crucifixes, which they evidently regarded as only stronger fetishes.

Loyer represents the negroes as trickish and subtle, great liars and thieves, "the most deceitful and ungrateful people in the universe."

The first Spanish mission to this part of the world, so far as we can learn, was commenced in 1652, when fifteen Capuchins were sent to Sierra Leone. Twelve of them were taken prisoners by the Portuguese, who were then at war with Spain. The other three are said to have converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and built churches in some of their chief towns. They were reinforced in 1657, and again in 1664. In 1723, the Pope's nuncio in Spain announced that the mission was extinct. In 1659, certain Capuchins of Castile attempted a mission at Ardra, on the Slave Coast; but they soon gave it up, on finding that the king only pretended to turn Christian, for the sake of encouraging trade with Spain.

We find no mention of any other Roman Catholic mission in Upper Guinea, till the late attempt at Cape Palmas. From the formal commencement of the mission at Elmina, in 1482, eleven years after the complete discovery of the coast, to the abandonment of Sierra Leone,

in 1723, was 241 years of Roman Catholic missionary effort. After so long a trial, and for the greater part of the time in the most favorable circumstances for the missionaries, the religion of *Guinea* proved too strong an antagonist for the religion of *Rome*. What little impression they made on a few of their dependents, was soon effaced, and Romanism in Guinea has long since ceased to exist. A boastful view of Romanism and its missions, in the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith for June, 1839, claims no mission in all Western Africa, nor any Catholics, except in the French settlement on the Senegal, any where between Congo and Morocco. Probably, however, they might claim the inmates of a small Portuguese trading house or two, somewhere about the mouth of the Rio Grande.

Of the Dutch, we only find reason to believe that they made some slight attempts to proselyte the negroes immediately around their castles and trading houses. The Portuguese say that the negroes, "being barbarians, readily enough swallowed Calvin's poison;" the meaning of which doubtless is, that the Dutch taught them to despise popery. Artus mentions attempts of Dutch residents to instruct them, and speaks of one who had been so instructed by a monk at Elmina, that he was able to quote Scripture in reply. Bosman, a sturdy Dutch Protestant, says that if it were possible to convert them, the Romanists would stand the best chance for success; because they already agree with them in several particulars, especially in their ridiculous ceremonies, their abstinence from certain kinds of food at certain times, their reliance on antiquity, and the like. The negroes seem to have reasoned differently, and to have thought so small a change not worth the making. Bosman's remark, however, shows that the Dutch accomplished but little among them.

The Moravians were the first Protestants who seriously undertook the work of missions in Guinea. In 1736, they sent out two missionaries, one of whom was a mulatto, born in that country. His colleague soon died, and he returned. Their efforts were resumed from time to time, till 1770. In all, five distinct efforts were made, and eleven missionaries sent out. The mulatto accompanied several of the expeditions, and died in 1769. The other ten all died in Guinea, before they had been there long enough to be useful. Probably, all these attempts were on the Gold Coast.

The first English mission to Western Africa seems to have been that of the Rev. Thomas Thompson, in 1751. He had labored five years in New Jersey, as a missionary of the English Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Of course, he must have felt the influence of David Brainerd's labors among the Indians in New Jersey; the most successful portions of which were from June, 1745, to November, 1746. With the consent of the society that employed him, Mr. Thompson went to Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast, to labor for the conversion of the natives. He acted as chaplain of the Fort, till his health failed and he returned to England in 1756. Meanwhile he had sent three natives to England to be educated for the ministry; one of whom, Philip Quaque, received orders in 1765, returned to Africa, and acted as chaplain of the Fort till his death, October 17, 1816, aged 75 years. While he was chaplain, a school was set up

in the Fort, at which some of the natives received the rudiments of an English education. We shall have occasion to refer again to Quaque and his influence.

In 1787, an English company, of which Granville Sharpe was the most conspicuous member, commenced a colony of free blacks from America at Sierra Leone. The land on which they settled was purchased of the natives, who soon after attempted to drive them off, or exterminate them. When visited in 1789, half their number had perished by violence or disease, and the remainder had taken refuge on Bance Island. In 1791 and 1792, the colony was reinforced by 1,200 blacks from Jamaica, who had at first settled in Nova Scotia, but found the climate too cold for them. The history of this colony is marked by an almost uninterrupted series of gross blunders and mismanagement; but being a well meant enterprise, mainly on right principles, and sustained with true English pertinacity, it has continued to grow, and has been of immense value to Africa. For twenty years it watched the operations of the British slave trade, and furnished much of the information which induced the British Parliament to abolish it in 1807. And when that act had been passed, it could have been little else than a dead letter, had there not been a rendezvous for the squadron, a seat for Courts of Admiralty, and a receptacle for recaptured Africans, at Sierra Leone. But for this colonization of Africa with the civilized descendants of Africans, that act might never have been passed, and if passed, must have been nearly inoperative.

In 1792, an attempt was made to promote civilization in Africa by a colony of whites, of which Capt. Beaver, an officer in the expedition, afterwards published an account, which we have not been able to obtain. We only learn that the attempt was made by a "philanthropic association" in England; that they sent out three ships with 275 colonists; that they commenced a settlement on Bulama Island, near the mouth of the Rio Grande; that they employed only the free labor of colonists and hired negroes; that they suffered much from the African fever, many died, others returned, and in two years the colony was extinct.

In 1795, several English families went to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Foulahs; but after arriving in Africa and considering the obstacles, they returned without commencing their labors.

In 1797, the Edinburgh Missionary Society sent out two missionaries, who commenced a mission among the Soosoos on the Rio Pongas; the Glasgow Society sent out two, who commenced on the Island of Bananas; and the London Society two, who began among the Bulloms. In 1800, one of them, Mr. Brunton, returned, enfeebled by disease; but afterwards engaged in a mission at Karass near the Caspian Sea. Mr. Greig, his colleague, had been murdered by a party of Foulahs. The other four had fallen victims to the climate.

The Church Missionary Society, then called the "Society for Missions in Africa and the East," sent out its first missionaries in 1804. They were Germans; for, after several years of effort, no English missionaries could be procured. Two years before, the Sierra Leone Company had been seeking five years in vain for a chaplain. The

missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, April 14. A subsequent Report states, that they would have been instructed to commence their labors in the colony, had there not been obstacles to their usefulness there, of the nature of which we are not informed. As it was, they resided in the colony, and sought for stations beyond its borders. In 1806, two others were sent out, one of whom, Mr. Nylander, was induced to serve as chaplain of the colony, which he continued to do till 1812. These two last were accompanied by William Fantimani, the son of a chief at Rio Pongas, educated at Clapham. The Report for 1808 informs us, that the missionaries had continued their search for stations out of the colony, but had everywhere been met by insurmountable obstacles. That year, however, in March, they were able to commence two stations on the Rio Pongas, Fantimania and Bashia. Fantimania in a short time was found impracticable. It was abandoned, and a new station commenced at Canoffee. In 1809, two others were sent out, one of whom soon died. One of the older brethren also died. In 1811, two more were sent out. In 1812, three mechanics were sent out. Mr. Nylander resigned his chaplaincy, and commenced a new station among the Bulloms. In the autumn, the chiefs on the Rio Pongas held a palaver, in relation to sending the missionaries out of the country, on the pretence that their presence injured the trade, that is, the slave trade. In 1813, two of the mechanics and the wife of one of them died. Troubles with the natives continued. In 1814, they suffered much from sickness. The other mechanic and the widow of another died. The opposition of the natives increased. A new station was commenced on the Rio Dembia, and called Gambier. Mr. Klein, the missionary, finding no prospect of usefulness, removed to the Isles de Los, staid there half a year, and meeting insurmountable opposition, removed to Kapuru, on the continent, among the Bagoes. These events may have extended into the next year. Their attention was now turning to the colony. In 1815, seven male and female missionaries and two educated natives were sent out. Four of the seven, two of their children, and two of the older members of the mission died. In January, the three principal buildings at Bashia, with the libraries, were burned by the natives. Mr. Hughes and his wife, one of the seven above mentioned, set out for home to save her life; but stopped at Goree, as she was unable to proceed. Here her health improved, and they opened a school. In 1816, four teachers with their wives were sent out. The Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Assistant Secretary, visited the mission. He thought the colony, which now contained 9,000 or 10,000 inhabitants, most of whom were recaptured Africans, the most promising field of usefulness. The "Christian Institution," had already a goodly number of pupils, and they were erecting extensive buildings for its permanent accommodation. Governor Mac Carthy wrote:—"I conceive that the first effectual step towards the establishment of Christianity, will be found in the division of this peninsula into parishes, appointing to each a clergyman to instruct his flock in Christianity, and enlightening their minds to the various duties and advantages inherent to civilization; thus making Sierra Leone the base, from whence future exertions may be extended, step by step, to the very interior of Africa." The division into parishes was in pro-

gress. Bashia was given up. Preaching was commenced at Lissa and Jesulu, near Canoffee. A chapel was built at Lissa. In 1817, the troubles from the natives continued to increase. The Society announced its expectation of being compelled to abandon all its stations beyond the limits of the colony. In 1818, February 16, the missionaries, in a general meeting at Freetown, decided to withdraw from the Rio Pongas. Those stations were accordingly abandoned. It was also found necessary to retire from Yongroo, among the Bulloms, though only seven miles from Freetown, the capital of the colony. Goree was restored to the French, and the station abandoned. July 14, a proclamation in the Sierra Leone Gazette announced the occupation of the Isles de Los, as British Territory. Mr. Klein was appointed pastor there, closed his station among the Bagoes, and entered upon the duties of his office. The Society had now no station beyond the limits of the colony. It was intimated, that their relinquishment might be only temporary; but it has never yet been found advisable to renew them.

According to the latest accounts, this mission now has 16 stations, 65 laborers, 1,560 communicants, 6,270 attendants on public worship, and 4,932 pupils in its 46 schools. One of these stations is at Port Lokkoh, in the Timmanee country; but whether in that part of the country which has been fully ceded to the colony, or that which is merely in a state of dependent alliance, we have not been able to ascertain.

The English Wesleyan mission in Sierra Leone, which was commenced about the year 1817, reports 30 congregations, 35 paid teachers, 300 teachers of all kinds, 3,086 communicants, 2,384 pupils in its schools, and an average of 6,700 attendants on public worship.

Besides the Colony at Sierra Leone, the British Government had, in 1842, about 1,500 recaptured Africans settled on the river Gambia; a part of them at Bathurst, on a small island at its mouth, and the remainder at Macarthy's Island, 300 miles up the river. The English Wesleyans commenced a station at Bathurst in 1821, and one at Macarthy's Island in 1832. The Gambia mission, including these two stations and several out-stations, reports 8 paid teachers, 440 communicants, and 371 pupils in its schools.

The English Wesleyans have also a mission on the Gold Coast, the result of the labors of Philip Quaque and of the mission at Sierra Leone. After the death of Quaque, several European chaplains were sent out, some of whom died, and others soon returned. The school was generally kept up, and at length put on a permanent foundation. In 1831, some of the natives educated in that school, associated together for the acquisition of Christian knowledge. One of them, being at Sierra Leone, saw missionaries there, and brought back to his associates some idea of missionary operations. Through the agency of the Governor, they repeatedly requested the Church Missionary Society to send them a missionary; but in vain. At length, a pious Wesleyan ship-master from Bristol became acquainted with them, and on his return to England, persuaded his brethren to enter this field, so white for the harvest. They sent out the Rev. Mr. Dunwell, who preached his first sermon in Africa, January 4, 1835,

was attacked with the fever the next June, and soon died. Two others were then sent out, and died. Others took their places, till, in 1840, ten, male and female, had been sent out, of whom only four survived. In 1845, they reported four stations, 59 paid teachers, 106 laborers of all kinds, 754 pupils in their schools, and 792 communicants, in a population of some 20 English merchants and perhaps 10,000 natives who had been for several generations subject to English laws. One of the stations at this mission is at Comassie, or Kumasi, the capital of the Ashantees, where a single missionary is attempting a school.

Attached to this mission, is a station at Badagry, on the Slave Coast, which reports two stations, Abbekuta and Yoruba, in the interior, both unoccupied. The Church Missionary Society also reports two European and one native clergymen and three native assistants at Badagry. The attempt at this place has grown out of the colony and missions at Sierra Leone. A considerable number of recaptured Africans who had been converted and civilized there, have returned to this, their native region. Some have settled at Badagry, and others have gone into the interior. In consequence of their labors and representations, the Church Missionary Society established its mission there in 1845, and the Wesleyan about the same time,—perhaps even earlier. These missions, sustained by civilized natives and defended by the guns of a British fort, have as yet been fruitful only in promises of success.

In 1841, the English Baptists commenced a mission on the Island of Fernando Po, near the mouths of the Niger. It was intended to cöoperate with the celebrated Niger expedition, and with the civilizing and evangelical influences which should follow in its train. It was expected that the Island would be ceded to England, to serve as a basis for its operations on the Niger. The mission was located at Clarence, on its northern extremity. The Niger expedition returned, having suffered an appalling loss of life, and accomplished nothing. The mission, however, was continued. A supply of assistants who could endure the climate was expected from among the converted and lately emancipated slaves of the West Indies, some of whom arrived and joined the mission in September, 1843. Several out-stations were occupied on the Island, and several excursions were made to the adjacent continent; and at length, one of them settled at Bimbia, near the Cameroons river. Meanwhile, the British government relinquished the plan of holding the Island; and about the close of the year 1845, an agent of the Spanish government arrived, of whose orders and proceedings no full account has yet been published. It is known, however, that the Protestant missionaries were ordered to leave the Island, excepting one, who was allowed to remain for the present, to take care of the property. In March, 1846, they had not removed; but death had been making fearful ravages among them; and the Romish priests who arrived nearly at the same time with the order, had begun to droop and be discouraged under the influence of the climate, and to think of abandoning their enterprise. As to the continuance of the station at Bimbia after the breaking up of the mission to which it is an appendage, the Society has as yet expressed no opinion.

A mission is, or is to be, commenced at or near the Old Calabar

river, by the Presbyterians of Jamaica. The Presbytery assert that British Christians "see plainly that the fittest men for the evangelization of Africa are the Native Christians of the West Indies, headed, in the first instance at least, by European missionaries inured to the tropics." A missionary was on his way at the commencement of the present year, and several native Africans from Jamaica had been appointed to accompany him. "It is proposed to found a settlement either at Old Calabar, or some other suitable place in the surrounding country; not so much as a settlement of Colonists, as to be a centre of operation where the moral and religious improvement of the natives may be promoted."

The German Missionary Society has, within a very few years, commenced a mission at Aquapim, near Accra, on the Gold Coast; but it reports little, as yet, except loss of life, "many difficulties, and much opposition."

The first American who is known to have attempted any thing for the conversion of Africa, was the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Newport, R. I. Becoming convinced that both the slave trade and slavery were unjustifiable, he began not only to preach, but to act accordingly. His plan was, to educate natives of Africa, and send them back as missionaries. To this work, he appropriated the price of a slave that he had formerly owned and sold; besides making repeatedly, liberal appropriations from the proceeds of his theological works, and other resources. He corresponded with individuals and public bodies in America and in Europe; and among others, with Granville Sharpe, who afterwards became the founder of Sierra Leone. In August, 1773, he and the Rev. Dr. Stiles, afterwards President Stiles, issued a circular, inviting contributions; in reply to which, funds were received to the amount of more than a hundred pounds, and several ecclesiastical bodies expressed their approbation. Several young men, natives of Africa, were put to school. With respect to one of them, he corresponded with Philip Quaque, the Negro chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, who expressed great joy at the prospect of their return to preach the gospel to their countrymen. These efforts were soon interrupted by the war of Independence, and though afterwards resumed, were never brought to a successful issue. Yet two of his "promising young men" were permitted to visit Africa in their old age. They were Deacons Newport Gardner, aged 75, and Salmur Nubia,* aged 70, who arrived at Monrovia in February, 1826, and died of the fever the same year.

The next American attempt, of any importance, was the planting of Liberia, in 1822; the history of which is before the world, and need not be repeated here. It has led to the establishment of two civilized republics, the planting of nearly thirty Christian Churches, and the conversion and civilization of hundreds of the natives; besides all that it has done for the suppression of piracy and the slave trade, and the general improvement of that part of the world.

* In the Census of Liberia for 1843, he is called John Nubia.

PART IV.

Recapitulation.—Conclusion.

Such have been the leading facts in respect to Western Africa from the time of Ibn Haukal to the present day—about nine centuries. From the first purchase of negro slaves by Portuguese voyagers, has been 404 years; from the first discovery of the negro country by the Portuguese, 399 years; from the discovery of Cape Mesurado, 384 years, and from the complete exploration of the coast of Upper Guinea, 375 years; and this, even if we reject the accounts of the French, who profess to have had trading posts where Liberia now is 500 years ago. At our earliest dates, the natives were idolaters of the grossest kind, polygamists, slave holders, slave traders, kidnappers, offerers of human sacrifices, and some of them cannibals. For four centuries, or five, if we receive the French account, they have been in habits of constant intercourse with the most profligate, the most licentious, the most rapacious, and in every respect the vilest and most corrupting classes of men to be found in the civilized world,—with slave traders, most of whom were pirates in every thing but courage, and many of whom committed piracy whenever they dared,—and with pirates in the fullest sense of the word. Before the year 1600, the influence of these men had been sufficient to displace the native languages in the transaction of business, and substitute the Portuguese, which was generally understood and used in their intercourse with foreigners; and since that time, the Portuguese has been in like manner displaced by the English. By this intercourse, the natives were constantly stimulated to crimes of the deepest dye, and thoroughly trained to all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning. During the most fearful predominance of undisguised piracy, from 1688 to 1730, their demoralization went on, especially upon the Windward Coast, more rapidly than ever before, and became so intense, that it was impossible to maintain trading houses on shore; so that, on this account, as we are expressly informed, in 1730 there was not a single European factory on that whole coast. Trade was then carried on by ships passing along the coast, and stopping wherever the natives kindled a fire as a signal for traffic. And this continued to be the usual mode of intercourse on that coast, when the British Parliament, in 1791, began to collect evidence concerning the slave trade. Nor were factories re-established there, till the slave trade and its attendant vices had diminished the danger by depopulating the country.

It appears, too, that nothing has ever impeded or disturbed the constant flow of this bad influence, but Colonization and its consequences. The colony of Sierra Leone was planted as a means of resisting and ultimately suppressing the slave trade. The testimony which it collected and furnished during twenty years of labor and suffering, was the principal means of inducing the British Parliament to pass the act

of 1807, abolishing that traffic. From that time to the present, it has rendered indispensable assistance in all that has been done to enforce that act. Through its influence, the slave trade is suppressed, slavery itself is abolished, and a Christian and civilized negro community* of 40,000 or 50,000 persons is established, on the territory which it controls. Liberia, only about one third as old, has expelled slave traders and pirates from 300 miles of coast, with the exception of a single point, brought a native population of 10,000 or 15,000, by their own consent, under the protection and control of a civilized republican government which does not tolerate slavery, and brought from 60,000 to 100,000 more to renounce the slave trade and other barbarous usages. Still later, another British settlement of recaptured Africans on the Gambia has begun to do the same good work in that region. Beyond Cape Palmas, a few British, Dutch and Danish forts overawe the natives in their immediate vicinity, and some of them protect missions. Elsewhere, the work is not even begun.

The summary of Christian missions without Colonization may be given in a few words. The Roman Catholics come first. Omitting the French statement, of a chapel built at Elmina in 1387, let us begin with the Portuguese mission at that place, in 1482. Romish missions continued till that of the Spanish Capuchins at Sierra Leone was given up in 1723, which was 241 years. They made no impression, except upon their immediate dependents; and what they made, was soon totally obliterated. Their stations were numerous, along the whole coast; but every vestige of their influence has been gone, for many generations.

Protestant missionary attempts were commenced by the Moravians in 1736, 110 years ago, and continued till 1770. Five attempts cost eleven lives, and effected nothing. The account of them scarce fills a page in Crantz's "History of the Brethren."

English attempts have been more numerous. That of Mr. Thompson, in 175[illegible], amounted only to a chaplaincy, and sometimes, but not always, a school, till it received an impulse from Sierra Leone. That of Capt. Beaver at Bulama Island, in 1792, does not appear to have been distinctively of a missionary character, though it must have contemplated the introduction and diffusion of Christianity, as one of its results and means of success. It failed in two years, and with the loss of more than 100 lives. The mission to the Foulahs, in 1795, found, when at Sierra Leone, insuperable obstacles to success, and returned without commencing its labors. The three stations commenced by the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1797, were extinct, and five of the six missionaries dead, in 1800. The Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804; but it was four years before they could find a place out of the Colony, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations, viz. Fantimania, Bashia, Canoffee, Lissa and Jesulu, on or near the Rio Pongas, Gambier on the Rio Dembia, Gambier on the

* That is, Christian and civilized in respect to the character of its government and institutions, and the predominant character of the people; though multitudes of the inhabitants, but lately rescued from the holds of slave ships, are just beginning to learn what Christianity and civilization are.

Isles de Los, Gambier among the Bagoes, Goree, and Yongroo among the Bulloms. Goree was given up to the French and abandoned. The hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from the other nine, and forced them to take refuge in the Colony of Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. Here, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of the climate and the hostility of the natives. Since the settlement of Liberia, attempts to sustain missions without colonial protection have been made at Half Cavally, within the territorial limits of Cape Palmas, and at Rockbokah and Taboo, in its immediate vicinity, and within the reach of its constant influence. The result has been already stated. The mission of the Presbyterian Board has been removed to Settra Kroo, about seventeen miles from the Mississippi settlement at Sinou. As the Kroos have bound themselves by their late treaty with the Liberian government, "to foster and protect the American missionaries;" and as the mission is placed where no hostile act can long be concealed from that government, it may be regarded as safe under colonial protection. The mission of the American Board has been removed from Cape Palmas, about 1,250 miles, to the River Gaboon, in Lower Guinea, and placed among a people, whom the missionaries represent as much superior to any within the region embraced in these researches. Its labors here commenced in July, 1842. It is yet uncertain, therefore, whether it will be able to maintain its ground, even as long as did the English mission at the Rio Pongas. An attempt has been made to establish an American mission at Kaw Mendi, between Sierra Leone and Liberia, where the vicinity of both colonies diminishes the danger. The missionary has been once ordered out of the country by the native authorities, as an obstacle to the slave trade; but his neighbors at Sierra Leone have prevailed upon them to let him remain. The missions on the Gold and Slave coasts, which have grown out of those at Sierra Leone; the Baptist and Presbyterian missions near the Bight of Benin, which rely on settlements of emancipated slaves from the West Indies as the indispensable means of their success; the missions of various nations in South Africa, nearly all of which are within the Cape Colony, and the remainder among tribes under its influence and deriving safety from its power; a search, which the Church Missionary Society is now making, for a station in the vicinity of Zanzibar; an attempt to open intercourse with the nominal Christians of Abyssinia; a small English mission to the Copts at Cairo, and still smaller French mission at Algiers,—if this last yet exists,—complete the list, so far as we can learn, of Protestant missionary attempts on the continent of Africa. To these, add the attempt of Capt. Beaver and others to promote civilization by a colony of Englishmen at Bulama Island in 1792, and the disastrous Niger Expedition of the British government, and we have the sum total of Protestant expeditions for the improvement of African character.

The failure of the Niger expedition prostrates for the present, and probably forever, the hope which it was intended to realize; the hope of opening an intercourse with the less demoralized nations of the

interior, by ascending that river. It has shown that we must reach the countries on the Niger from the west, by the route pointed out by Gen. Harper in 1817, and followed by the Portuguese mulattoes in 1660. Of all Atlantic ports, Monrovia is probably the nearest to the boatable waters of the Niger. The Atlantic termination of the route must be somewhere from Liberia to Sierra Leone, inclusive. Nor is there any reason to hope that this route can ever be made available for any purpose of practical utility, till Colonization has, in a good degree, civilized the country through which it must pass. We *must* begin by civilizing and Christianizing the population on the coast.*

And this work is going on successfully, by the colonization of the coast with civilized men of African descent. Sierra Leone has done much, notwithstanding its great and peculiar disadvantages. Its thousands, among whom all the safety of civilization is enjoyed, have already been mentioned. Liberia Proper has under its jurisdiction, a population of 15,000 or more, among whom any missionary who can endure the climate, may labor without danger and without interruption. Of these, more than 10,000 are natives of the country, in the process of civilization. Of these natives, about 1,500 are so far civilized that the heads of families among them are thought worthy to vote, and do vote, at elections; 353† are communicants in the several churches; and the remainder, generally, are merely unconverted human beings, who have some respect for Christianity, and none for any other religion. Among these, neither the slave trade nor slavery is tolerated. Besides these, numerous tribes, comprising a population of from 50,000 to 100,000, and according to some statements, a still greater number, have placed themselves by treaty under the civilizing influence of the colony; have made the slave trade and various other barbarous and heathenish usages unlawful, and many of them have stipulated to foster and protect American missionaries. The territory of these allied tribes is supposed to extend half way to the waters of the Niger. Several missionary stations have already been established among them, with perfect confidence in their safety.

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* If any are alarmed at the supposed expensiveness of our enterprise, we would suggest to them, in the first place, that the thought of leaving Africa forever in her present horrible condition, for the sake of avoiding any expense whatever, is unchristian, and not to be entertained for a moment. Africa must be converted; and whatever expense is really necessary for that purpose, must be incurred. In the second place, we would call attention to the expense of the squadron of 80 guns, which the United States is bound by the Ashburton treaty, to keep on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. According to an estimate of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 29, 1842, the cost of two sloops of war and four brigs or schooners, is $424,242; annual cost or repairs and wear and tear, $40,000; other annual expenses $241,182. The whole slave trading coast of Western Africa is not more than 3,000 miles. At the prices hitherto paid for territory for colonizing, the annual expenses of our squadron for two years would more than pay for the whole of it. The expense of watching the slave factory at New Sesters with the smallest vessel in the squadron, for two months, would be enough to purchase the place, settle it with emancipated slaves from Tennessee, and thus stop the slave trade there forever. The British government, according to parliamentary returns in 1844, were expending $5,179,688 annually for the same purpose. A small part of this, judiciously expended, would be enough for all the purposes of colonization in Africa.

† According to the census of September, 1843.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, though but twelve years old, and numbering only 700 or 800 emigrants, has also proved a safe field for missionary labor.

The British government has settled about 1,500 liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, on the Gambia; some of them at Bathurst, near the mouth of the river; and some of them at Macarthy's Island, 300 miles from its mouth. At both of these settlements, the English Wesleyan missions are flourishing, and report, in all, 440 communicants.

It has usually been supposed, that sensible and candid men may learn from experience. If so, it would seem that such a variety of experiments, extending through four centuries, and all pointing to the same conclusion, might suffice to teach them. Consider the numerous attempts by Romanists of different nations and orders, Portuguese, Spaniards and French, Capuchins, Dominicans and Jesuits, and by Protestants of divers nations and communions, to sustain missions there without colonies, and always with the same result. Consider, too, that every attempt to introduce Christianity and civilization by colonizing Africa with people of African descent, has been, in a greater or less degree successful. Every such colony planted, still subsists, and wherever its jurisdiction extends, has banished piracy and the slave trade; extinguished domestic slavery; put an end to human sacrifices and cannibalism; established a constitutional civil government, trial by jury and the reign of law; introduced the arts, usages and comforts of civilized life, and imparted them to more or less of the natives; established schools, built houses of worship, gathered churches, sustained the preaching of the gospel, protected missionaries, and seen native converts received to Christian communion. *Not a colony has been attempted, without leading to all these results.*

In view of these facts,—while we readily grant that some Liberians sing, pray and exhort too loud at their religious meetings; that some profess much piety, who have little or none; that some of the people are indolent and some dishonest, and that some of their children play pranks in school, all greatly to the annoyance of white missionaries worn down by the fever,—still, we claim that the influence of Colonization is favorable to the success of Missions, to the progress of civilization, and of Christian piety. As witnesses, we show, in the Colonies of Cape Palmas, Liberia Proper, Sierra Leone and on the Gambia, more than two hundred* missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent, and some of them native Africans, now engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa. We show the fruits of their labors,—more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of natives, perfectly accessible to missionary labors. All this has been done since the settlement of Sierra Leone in 1787, and nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822. We show, as the result of the opposite system, after nearly four centuries of experiment, and more than a century of Protestant experiment, a single station, with one

* There were, in 1845, 65 English Episcopal and 35 Wesleyan missionaries, with salaries, at Sierra Leone, besides 300 or more who statedly rendered gratuitous assistance; and unpaid assistants are numerous at several other missions.

missionary and perhaps one or two assistants, at Kaw Mendi, under the shadow of two colonies, and one mission which has retired from the field of our inquiries to Lower Guinea; neither of which has occupied its ground long enough to exert any appreciable influence in its vicinity, or even to ascertain the possibility of effecting a permanent establishment.

We claim, therefore, that the question is decided; that the facts of the case, when once known, preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt. We claim that the combined action of Colonization and Missions is proved to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.

And who, that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work? Need we, after all that has been said, appeal to sympathy? Need we here to repeat the catalogue of horrors from which Africa groans to be delivered? Need we mention the slave trade, devouring five hundred thousand of her children annually; her domestic slavery, crushing in its iron bondage more slaves than exist in the whole wide world besides; her ruthless despotisms, under which not even the infant sleeps securely; her dark and cruel superstitions, soaking the graves of her despots with human blood; her rude palaces, adorned with human skulls; her feasts, made horrid with human flesh? Shall not a work, and the only work, which has proved itself able to grapple with and conquer these giant evils, be dear to every heart that loves either God or man? It must be so. The piety and philanthropy of Christendom cannot refrain from entering this open door, and transforming those dread abodes of wretchedness and sin, into habitations of Christian purity and peace and joy.

P. S. Information has just been received, that the whole country, from the Cavally river about 100 miles eastward to the Pedro, has been annexed to the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. This includes all the Episcopal missionary stations not previously within the territory of the Colony. We learn, also, that Liberia Proper has lately purchased 35 or 40 miles of coast, which either includes or nearly surrounds the site of the Presbyterian mission at Settra Kroo.

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